

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ZANZIBAR 0021

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TAGS: PINT TZ

SUBJ: ASP-TANU MERGER AND THE POLITICAL RE-EDUCATION OF

SEIF BAKARI

REF: (A) ZANZIBAR 0262 DEC 75 (NOTAL)

(B) ZANZIBAR 0249 NOV 75 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: OUTCOME OF ZANZIBAR'S INTERNAL DEBATE ON ASP-TANU MERGER IS UNPREDICTABLE AT THIS STAGE AND IT COULD BE SEVERAL YEARS BEFORE MATTER IS SETTLED. PRESIDENT NYERERE AND APPARENTLY FIRST VICE PRESIDENT JUMBE BOTH FAVOR IDEA BUT JUMBE MUST DEAL WITH CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF INFLUENTIAL ZANZIBARIS WHO REGARD PROPOSAL AS TACTIC BY NYERERE TO DIMINISH ZANZIBAR'S AUTONOMY. SEIF BAKARI, ZANZIBAR REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL MEMBER AND CHAIRMAN OF AFRO-SHIRAZI PARTY YOUTH LEAGUE, HAS BEEN MOST OUTSPOKEN OPPONENT OF MERGER. JUMBE AND NYERERE REPORTEDLY CONSPIRED TO PLACE BAKARI IN NYERERE'S CABINET TO LESSEN HIS INFLUENCE ON ZANZIBAR AND PERHAPS TO INSTILL IN HIM SOME MAINLAND SYMPATHIES. LITTLE MAY BE GAINED; BAKARI HAS NOT BEEN SENT FAR AWAY AND THERE ARE PLENTY BACK HOME WHO AGREE WITH HIM ON OPPOSITION TO ASP-TANU MERGER. END SUMMARY.

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2. WHILE RECENTLY-CONCLUDED SIXTH ASP CONGRESS DID NOT TAKE UP

ASP-TANU MERGER (REF A), DEBATE ON ISSUE CONTINUES AND ZANZIBAR'S POSITION LIKELY TO REMAIN UNCLEAR FOR SOME TIME. MERGER HAS NOW BECOME CLOSELY LINKED WITH QUESTION OF JUMBE SUCCEEDING NYERERE AS PRESIDENT OF TANZANIA.

3. CONSULATE UNDERSTANDS THAT JUMBE NOT DISPLEASED WITH IDEA OF BECOMING PRESIDENT OF TANZANIA AND FAVORS ASP-TANU MERGER WHICH GENERALLY ACCEPTED AS NECESSARY PRE-CONDITION TO HIS BECOMING PRESIDENT. CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF INFLUENTIAL ZANZIBARIS REGARD NYERERE'S MERGER PROPOSAL AS STEP TO BOOST MAINLAND'S CONTROL OVER ZANZIBAR AND SOME HAVE WARNED JUMBE THAT IF HE BECOMES TANZANIA'S PRESIDENT HE WILL END UP PLAYING PODGORNÝ TO NYERERE'S BREZHNEV (TO USE EXAMPLE THAT HAS BEEN CITED TO JUMBE).

4. PARTICULARLY STRONG OPPONENT OF MERGER AND JUMBE SUCCESSION IS ATTORNEY GENERAL DOURADO WHO SAYS HE HAS BEEN ADAMANTLY WARNING JUMBE AGAINST GOING ALONG WITH NYERERE'S PLANS. DOURADO NEARLY FANATICAL IN HIS DISLIKE FOR NYERERE AND PROBABLY SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN WHOLLY SERIOUSLY BUT HE IS ABLE TO LIST SEVERAL SENIOR ZANZIBAR GOVERNMENT FIGURES WHOM HE CLAIMS TO BE LIKE-MINDED. DOURADO SAYS THESE OPPONENTS WOULD FIND UNACCEPTABLE EVEN "MERGER" WHICH WOULD AMOUNT TO NO MORE THAN LOOSE ASSOCIATION AT THE TOP, WITH ASP AND TANU BRANCHES REMAINING INTACT.

5. JUMBE HAS NOT TAKEN COMPLETELY OPEN POSITION ON MERGER BUT HE CAMPAIGNED FOR IT PRIOR TO NOVEMBER 1975 SIXTH ASP CONGRESS. HE PROBABLY WANTED ENDORSEMENT OF MERGER BY CONGRESS BUT HE ENCOUNTERED SIGNIFICANT OPPOSITION WITHIN ZANZIBAR REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL AND CHOSE NOT TO FORCE ISSUE HE MIGHT WELL HAVE LOST. HE IS REPORTEDLY UNWILLING TO MAKE ISSUE SUBJECT OF REFERENDUM AND MAY HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL SEVENTH ASP CONGRESS IN 1978, IF NOT DISSUADED BY THEN, WHICH WOULD STILL BE WELL IN ADVANCE OF SUCCESSION QUESTION OF 1980.

6. MOST SENIOR AND OUTSPOKEN ZANZIBARI OPPONENT OF MERGER TO DATE IS COLONEL SEIF BAKARI. HE HAS BEEN JUMBE'S PRINCIPAL ADVERSARY FOR SOME TIME AND IN THIS CASE HE LED SIX- OR SEVEN-MAN REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL FACTION IN STIFF OPPOSITION. CONSULATE HAS RECEIVED PLAUSIBLE REPORT THAT AFTER BAKARI CAME OUT AGAINST MERGER JUMBE MADE KNOWN TO NYERERE HIS DIFFICULTIES AND IT AGREED CONFIDENTIAL

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BAKARI SHOULD BE GIVEN POSITION IN MAINLAND GOVERNMENT. THIS PRESENTS OBVIOUS ADVANTAGES FOR JUMBE AND SERVES AS WELL NYERERE'S APPARENT INTEREST IN BREAKING DOWN REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL WHICH HE VIEWS AS OBSTACLE TO CLOSER UNION.

7. NYERERE'S AND JUMBE'S APPARENT HOPE IS THAT MAINLAND SERVICE WILL MELLOW BAKARI, MAKING HIM MORE AMENABLE TO UNION AND PARTY MERGER WHILE GIVING JUMBE FREER HAND TO CONSOLIDATE PRO-MERGER

POSITION ON ZANZIBAR.

8. BAKARI SUBSEQUENTLY NAMED JUNIOR MINISTER FOR DEFENSE AND NATIONAL SERVICE AFTER OCTOBER 1975 MAINLAND ELECTIONS (REF B). HE UNDERSTOOD TO HAVE BEEN FURIOUS WHEN HE LEARNED OF APPOINTMENT BUT DECIDED HE COULD NOT REFUSE.

9. COMMENT: LEAVING ASIDE MURKEY MERGER ISSUE, ABOVE-DESCRIBED CIRCUMSTANCES HELP ILLUSTRATE SUSPICION WITH WHICH SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF ZANZIBARIS VIEW TANZANIAN MAINLAND. IN THEIR VIEW, PRESENT DEGREE OF "UNION" IS QUITE ADEQUATE. THEIR ABILITY TO CIRCUMSCRIBE JUMBE'S AMBITIONS INDICATES THAT WHILE HE LEADS, HE STILL CANNOT STRIKE OUT ON HIS OWN ON MATTERS OF CONSEQUENCE.

10. AS FOR BAKARI, IT SEEMS HE IS STRONG ENOUGH SO THAT JUMBE BELIEVES HE MUST BE PERSUADED RATHER THAN IGNORED, BUT NOT SO STRONG THAT HE CAN'T BE PUSHED AROUND A BIT. ON THE SURFACE, HIS JUNIOR MINISTERIAL APPOINTMENT SEEMS SHREWD PLOY BUT IT MAY NOT RESULT IN MUCH. HE IS MAKING STRONG EFFORT TO HOLD ONTO HIS POLITICAL BASE AND IS SEEN HERE OFTEN. CONSULATE HAS NO REASON TO WISH HIM SUCCESS: AMONG PROMINENT ZANZIBARIS HE IS STRONGEST SUPPORTER OF COMMUNISTS, CHINESE OR RUSSIAN, AND OUR BIGGEST DETRACTOR.

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